2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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782 the tree crown, fight for me. Shake off the demon bear.' If these instructions be faithfully carried out, no bear will touch one." On asking what should be done in case of being attacked by Bruin, I received many instructions such as the following.

"Before the animal can reach you, lie down flat on your stomach and don't even breathe till he has smelt you and taken his departure. But whisper into the ground, asking the earth genius to cover you up. Or if a very rotten tree trunk is lying on the ground, get under it and ask the rotting wood demon to carry your scent away." Such are some of the instructions given me on this remarkable cult.

137 The ash tree is called Pin-ni by the Ainu and Yachidamo by the Japanese. Its scientific name is Fraxinus mandshuria, Pupr. var. japonica. It is very plentiful in Hokkaidō. Its habitat extends from 49 degrees N.L. in Saghalien down to the northern part of Honshū in Japan. It is a beautifully growing tree and has a glossy, smooth trunk. A tall, handsome man is sometimes described as a "fine well grown ash tree" by the Ainu.

314 In the southern part of Saghalien this tree is found
322 only in the river valleys and damp plains, especially on the western shore where the climate is fairly mild. It is thought much of by the people and its wood is put to various uses. The trunks of the larger trees are often made into river canoes and sea-going fishing
● [396] boats, the latter having boards fixed on their edges, with strips of bark or vines to keep the salt water out. Boat oars are also made of this wood. Sometimes one meets with mortars used for pounding cereals and producing dough for dumplings, made of this tree. As the wood is very tenacious and the branches lithe, slender and pliable, and therefore easily bent into circles and other forms, the hoop parts of scoop-nets are made of
008 it; also snowshoes, pot-hooks and sleighs. Thus there

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value.

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection.

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition.

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head.

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male

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Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or *ikema*) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness, water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady' (*ni-mam kathkimat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while fishing and boat-building.

After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck into the ground was accorded libations and praise.

Boat-building

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by setting fire to the *inau*.

While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged *inau* and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted *inau*.[1] A soul *susa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for

[1] According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.G.M.

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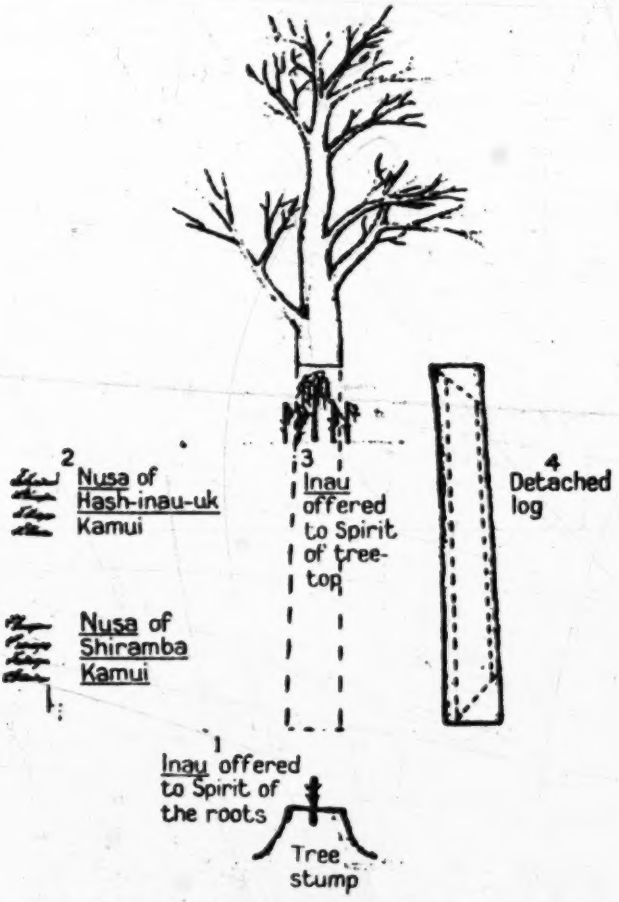
396 789 782 778 Shiramba Kamui and a similar one for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. These *nusa* were made to face east if possible. A prayer was said to Shiramba Kamui in which the village and its nearest valley were named as a means of identification. The top of the tree was given ritual dismissal (*iwakte*) and another prayer to Shiramba Kamui was followed by a shorter one to Hash-inau-uk Kamui (text fig. 6).



TEXT FIGURE 6.—Tree-cutting rite before cutting a log for a dug-out canoe.

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VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log (*saman-ni*) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern. Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged *inau* were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*).

The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a booming sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that would answer to his description.

The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, or out on the ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *tapkara* on the shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur.

Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it